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Social Forum.

DEVOTED TO PRESENT DAY PROBLEMS

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**American
Imperialism**

—BY—

PROF. GEO. D. HERRON,
OF IOWA COLLEGE.

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The Social Forum.

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AMERICAN IMPERIALISM:

AN ADDRESS,

Delivered April 12, 1899, by Professor GEORGE D. HERRON, of Iowa College,
in the Noonday Lecture Course of THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN
CITIZENSHIP LEAGUE.

Senator Hoar's searching analysis of the Philippine question makes a fitting text for Prof. Herron's indictment of "American Imperialism," with which this number of THE SOCIAL FORUM opens. Prof. Herron spoke to an audience that nearly filled the whole auditorium of the Chicago Central Music Hall, a place with a seating capacity of more than two thousand. Throughout the delivery of this lecture this vast audience, gathered in the business center of the Western metropolis in the middle of a business day, hung upon the speaker's words till the last syllable had been uttered, and welcomed with discriminating applause, sometimes repeated again and again and often reinforced with enthusiastic cheering, the profound religious and patriotic principles which he enunciated with such eloquence and applied with so much courage. The accompanying stenographic report of the lecture goes out, therefore, not only as Prof. Herron's expression of his own sentiments on imperialism, but also as his expression of the sentiments of the great gathering of patriotic men and women who listened to its delivery.

No man during this whole discussion has successfully challenged, and no man will successfully challenge—

(1.) The affirmation that under the constitution of the United States the acquisition of territory, as of other property is not a constitutional end, but only a means to a constitutional end, and that while the making of new states and providing national defense are constitutional ends, so that we may acquire and hold territory for those purposes, the governing of subject peoples is not a constitutional end and that there is, therefore, no warrant for acquiring and holding territory for that purpose.

(2.) That to leave our own country, to stand on a foreign soil, is in violation of the warnings of our fathers and of the farewell address of Washington.

(3.) That there was never a tropical colony yet governed with any tolerable success without a system of contract labor.

(4.) The trade advantages of the Philippine Islands, if there be any, must be opened alike to all the world, and that our share of them will never begin to pay the cost of subjecting them by war or holding them in subjection in peace.

(5.) That the military occupation of these tropical regions must be kept at an immense cost, both to the souls and the bodies of our soldiers.

(6.) That the declaration as to Cuba by the President and by Congress applies with stronger force to the case of the Philippine Islands.

(7.) That Aguinaldo and his followers, before we began to make war upon them, had conquered their own territory and independence from Spain, with the exception of a single city, and were getting ready to establish a free constitution.

(8.) That while they are fighting for freedom and independence and the doctrines of our fathers, we are fighting for the principle that one people may control and govern another in spite of its resistance and against its will.

(9.) That the language and argument of those who object to this war are without change the language and argument of Chatham, of Fox, of Burke, of Barre, of Camden, and of the English and American Whigs; and the language and argument of those who support it are the language and argument of George III., of Lord North, of Mansfield, of Wedderburn, and of Johnson, and of the English and American Tories.

(10.) No orator or newspaper or preacher, being a supporter of this policy of subjugation, dares repeat in speech or in print any of the great utterances for freedom of Washington, of Jefferson, of John Adams, of Abraham Lincoln, or of Charles Sumner.

The question the American people are now considering, and with which they are about to deal, is not a question of a day or a year, or of an administration, or of a century. It is to affect and largely determine the whole future of the country. We can recover from a mistake in regard to other matters which have interested or divided the people, however important or

serious. Tariffs and currency and revenue laws, even foreign wars, all these, as Thomas Jefferson said, "are billows that will pass under the ship." But if the Republic is to violate the law of its being, if it is to be converted into an empire, not only the direction of the voyage is to be changed, but the chart and the compass are to be thrown away. We have not as yet taken the irrevocable step. Before it is taken, let the voice of the whole people be heard.—*Senator Hoar of Massachusetts.*

Professor Herron spoke as follows:

A few months ago, this nation had the master opportunity of the ages—the opportunity to initiate an altogether new sort of international politics; the opportunity to become a political messiah to the nations of the world. Never in history was a nation false to its opportunity; never has a nation more shamefully and ignobly failed, and chosen such darkness in the midst of the full shining of so great a light. The best lessons of our history, the wisest teachings and warnings of our fathers, even the commonplace traditions of our political platforms, have all been set at naught. Through our government, we stood sacredly pledged to a certain course of action before the nations of the world. Without even sufficient sense of honor to feel the shame of dishonor, that government has distinctly violated every pledge, so that we today stand before the nations as a nation perjured and shameless.

I cannot take time, here, to discuss preliminary propositions upon the subject of war. I can only say that the subject is being investigated anew by every sympathetic student of the social movement. We discover, and that discovery cannot be hid, that every historic appeal to force has brought back the tyrant in a new form. The Puritan appeal to force in England brought the final triumph of the English landlord, and the exclusion of the yeomanry, along with the confiscation of Ireland. The French Revolution—the most important event after the coming of Christ—brought Napoleon. The American Revolution, beginning in the most radical self-governing impulses of the people, issued in a

constitution which was half-avowedly a device to prevent the people from governing themselves, and which is, today, an instrument of tyranny and subversion in the hands of the private corporations which have taken unto themselves the entire government of the United States—a government of the people for private profit by a vast plutocratic and impersonal tyranny.

I am opposed to war because the people are, in the end, always enslaved in war. The appeal to force generally results in the establishment of the tyranny of force.

I might say, furthermore, that I do not believe our war with Spain was necessary. The Cubans could have obtained their own freedom, if it had not been for the European holders of Spanish bonds and their agents in America. If we had recognized Cuban belligerency, and opened our ports to all alike, the Cubans could have achieved their freedom without the imperialism of American speculators. The war was decided upon purely commercial grounds, so far as official decision went. The commercial interests which sought to prevent the war were finally overcome by the commercial interests which sought to bring on the war for private speculation.

But the war came on, and the people supposed it to be a war for the liberation of Cuba. The young manhood of the nation was moved by a spirit of chivalrous crusade, and went to the front under the impulse of a deeply generous ardor for liberty. The administration gave assurance to the world, in opera bouffe conduct and language, that this was a war for humanity; spectacular rhetoric was employed to declare that fact to the people. Annexation by force was denounced as criminal aggression. We stood before the nations solemnly pledged to disinterestedness; we stood covenanted to the world, by pledges and assurances as solemn as any nation ever gave. If we are represented by our government, we today stand before the nations as a perjured

nation. Every pledge made by the official representatives of this people has been broken; not one single thing that we promised has been unqualifiedly fulfilled.

Do you know how the nations of Europe regard us? As a people whose word cannot be trusted in anything. A few months ago, I returned from a year and a half of travel in Europe. On going among the peoples of different nations, I found American honor to be a scandal and a by-word. I can take you to one little provincial city in Europe, in which whole families have been ruined, in which estates of centuries have been lost, through trusting the "confidence men" who are today the masters of American government and industry. It is true in Germany, and even in France, that an American's word is no longer trusted; and we deserve the shame that has been heaped upon us.

But now follow the course of this war, and follow it in its development of violated pledges. This development is in itself a revelation of what it means to betray a cause. From the beginning until now, the war has been a continuous scandal and commercial debauchery. We have little conception, and probably the truth will never be known, of the hideous and remorseless greed that has held sway behind the scenes, which every investigating committee seeks to keep curtained. The management of the Cuban War was merely a dress rehearsal of the great and tragic drama of greed that is being played in every industrial center of America. Our sons were not slain upon the field of battle; no, but slain by the hordes of speculators and politicians having army "pulls" and contracts—American greed and commercial debauchery slaying tens where the Spanish have slain one.

And then again: The Cubans are not free. We have driven out Spain, but the Secretary of War is proceeding to divide up Cuba among stock speculators and corporate interests. We have driven out mediæval tyranny, and American exploitation has taken its place. And no one can read

the newspapers that in any sense represent what is officially going on, without knowing that there is not the slightest intention on the part of the administration to set Cuba free. It is a foregone conclusion, so far as the existing order of things is concerned, that Cuba shall be annexed, and, if necessary, civil strife induced in order that we may have excuse for annexation. Annexation is the purpose and the craft of the present moment. To keep what we can get and get all we can is the policy of the government.

Now, it is absolutely certain that this administration never had any policy or principles beyond pleasing its masters. Notwithstanding all the pious political cant of our Chief Executive, notwithstanding the pronouncements which are all inconsistent with each other, the policy of the administration rises and falls with the interests of private corporations. I do not for one moment doubt that the President is a sincere man—a man who piously thinks that the well-being of this nation consists in the government being administered for private wealth. But the most dangerous man in any crisis of the world is the well-meaning man without principles—the weak man in the place of power. The most dangerous man, in any national situation, is the well-meaning man who becomes characterless putty in the hands of his masters. The administration that tolerates the monstrous spectacle of the present Secretary of War, that appoints partisan boards to protect him, that appoints investigating committees to conceal his mismanagement and wrong, that appoints investigating committees to sacredly protect Chicago packing houses, that treats them with a reverence that would signify that they are holy places in American civilization, that administers^{at} punishments of the sort given to General Egan, that looks on these ghastliest scandals only to hide them from the people—that administration cannot escape the stigma of disgrace and shame that the future will put upon it. There will some

day come, in this nation, an avalanche of retributive opinion that will show forth in all its hideousness the duplicity of the present government.

I have here in my hand a letter from a prominent English lady which I think I will read to you upon this subject. She says:

"Neither the public nor the press here represent the best thought of the people in America or understand the thought of England. Anyone who reflects must see through this iniquitous war and its consequences. Americanism, instead of being honored in England, is really a stench in the nostrils of every man of decent standing in Europe. A baby could see through the hypocrisy of England in seeking to increase American imperialism, when social England never despised America so much at heart as now, because of America's submission to this hypocrisy."

But it is to the Philippine Islands we must turn when the question of Imperialism is raised. What did we find in those islands? A people who had, for a long time, indeed through many generations, struggled for liberty. We found a patriot leader who stands high in the estimation of Europe, leading a people who had almost secured their liberties, and practically had the possession of the island of Luzon, except Manila. The exiled Filipino patriots we invited to return. They returned and helped us to conquer the Spaniard. We invited them to renew their struggle upon the expectation that we would gain for them their liberty.

Their congress met. We have been talking much about their inability to govern themselves; but in their congress were seventeen graduates of European universities, and men of the highest skill and diplomacy. That congress adopted a provisional government that was far in advance of the provisional government adopted during the revolutionary war in America. They were as politically developed, relatively speaking, as our fathers were in their struggles through the revolutionary war. The Filipinos are not sav-

ages, on the whole, but a worthy people, simple, truthful, and easily governed; a people who have shown the beginnings of a worthy national life.

Now, what have we done? First of all, we have shamefully and persistently misrepresented the Filipinos to the people of America, as man after man who has independently gone among them and studied their character has testified. The press reports and the government censors of the news, in every possible way, give the worst and most untruthful impression that can be given to the world.

Second. After having taken them into our confidence, after having sought their co-operation in the expectation of their liberty, we outrageously denied their commissioners a hearing at Paris; we treated their commissioner in America in such a manner that he had practically to flee for his life. The commissioners of the Filipinos have been refused any hearing as to their future. The attitude of this government toward the envoys of a people struggling for liberty is as outrageous and infamous, as tyrannical, as treasonable to human life, as anything in modern political history. In other words, we gained the confidence of this people either upon absolutely false pretenses, or else we have been most ignobly false to the confidence we invited. We have utterly, so far as our government relations go, betrayed the people of the Philippine Islands.

What more? We are killing them now. It is said that we have killed more Filipinos in three months than the Spanish killed in three centuries. Whether that be true or not, it certainly is true that we have been guilty of brutalities that will probably not come to light very soon. In the battle of Manila, scores of women, with bows and arrows in their hands, were found dead beside their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons. We in America—The America of Jefferson and Lincoln—are officially rejoicing over a victory gained in part through shooting down women who were seeking for

nothing except the chance to be free. Here is a private who writes:

"The slaughter was just awful. Dewey was throwing shells into the insurgent camp, killing hundreds at a time. Our boys stood there, ten hours straight shooting before they could move the natives an inch; finally we got them on the run and kept them going. There were regiments whose officers could do nothing with the men; they couldn't stop when they got the insurgents on the run; our men burned and destroyed everything they came across. The Utah battery and the 14th regulars had dead Filipinos piled up so high that they used the bodies for breastworks. . . . The Minnesota men are just crazy to get out on the firing line. . . We have them so scared in the city that they are afraid to come out of their houses. For a time they would brush up against you, but now they get off the walk. We are searching most all of them, and when we tell them to stop they at once throw up their hands, for if they make the least move we shoot them down like dogs." The march through the Philippines, the correspondents of European papers tell us, has been one of merciless devastation; as our armies marched through Luzon Island, they left a wilderness behind them. A manager and nurse of the Red Cross Society writes as follows:

"I never saw such an execution in my life, and hope never to see such sights as met me on all sides as our little corps passed over the field, dressing wounded—legs and arms nearly detached, total decapitation, horrible wounds in chests and abdomens, showing the determination of our soldiers to kill every native in sight. The Filipinos did stand their ground heroically, contesting every inch, but proved themselves unable to stand the deadly fire of our well-trained and eager boys in blue. I counted seventy-nine dead natives in one small field and learn that on the other side of the river their bodies were stacked up for breastworks." Well may Senator Hoar say:

"The blood of the slaughtered Filipinos, the blood and the wasted health and life of our own soldiers are upon the heads of those who have undertaken to buy a people in the market like sheep, or to treat them as lawful prize and booty of war, to impose a government on them without their consent, and to trample under foot not only the people of the

Philippine Islands, but the principles upon which the American Republic itself rests."

But the mere matter of being killed is nothing. There is something immeasurably worse than ten million deaths by murder; and that is, to have one's liberty destroyed. The American Government is remorselessly enlisted in destroying the sacredest thing that can ever be touched upon this earth—the liberty of a people seeking to express themselves in freedom and self-government. The America of Lincoln and Jefferson, of Phillips and Garrison, moved by gigantic commercial interests, is striking at the heart of a people who are in the first dawn of national liberty.

We have raised the question of self-government. We say the Filipinos are incapable of self-government, and that we are ordained to establish government for them and over them. Let us think of that in several lights. Here is a statement of the Rev. Herbert Bigelow, of Cincinnati, which emphasizes what I want to say further on:

"Our right to control the Filipinos is no better than Spain's right, unless might makes right. If Spain committed a crime in shooting Rizal, then, before God, we are criminals. The fact that we believe ourselves able to govern the islands better than Spain, or better than the people themselves, does not change the moral status of the question a hair's breadth. If the conqueror is justified in conquering because he has implicit faith in himself, then there never was an unrighteous war. If national conceit, backed up by superior force, is sufficient justification for a war of conquest, then there is no such thing as right in this world and no safety whatever for any man's liberty who has not the power to defend it by brute strength. If our right to shoot down Filipinos is to be sustained by the necessities of trade and our own good opinion of ourselves, then our patriotism is only a maudlin sentiment and our Christian professions are a shameless mockery." And there is something more I want to read to you, from Professor James of Harvard:

"We are now openly engaged in crushing out the sacredest thing in this great human world—the attempt of a people

long enslaved to attain to the possession of itself, to organize its laws and government, to be free to follow its internal destinies according to its own ideals. War, said Moltke, aims at destruction, and at nothing else. And splendidly are we carrying out war's ideals. We are destroying the lives of these islanders by the thousand, their villages and their cities; for surely it is we who are solely responsible for all the incidental burnings that our operations entail. But these destructions are the smallest part of our sins. We are destroying down to the root every germ of a healthy national life in these unfortunate people, and we are surely helping to destroy, for one generation at least, their faith in God and man. No life shall you have, we say, except as a gift from our philanthropy after your unconditional submission to our will."

* * * * *

"The issue is perfectly plain at last. We are cold-bloodedly, wantonly and abominably destroying the soul of a people who never did us an atom of harm in their lives. It is bald, brutal piracy, impossible to dish up any longer in the cold pot-grease of President McKinley's cant at the recent Boston banquet—surely as shamefully evasive a speech, considering the right of the public to know definite facts, as can often have fallen even from a professional politician's lips. The worst of our imperialists is that they do not themselves know where sincerity ends and insincerity begins. Their state of consciousness is so new, so mixed of primitively human passions and, in political circles, of calculations that are anything but primitively human; so at variance, moreover, with their former mental habits; and so empty of definite data and contents; that they face various ways at once, and their portraits should be taken with a squint. One reads the president's speech with a strange feeling—as if the very words were squinting on the page."

But when we are talking about the ability of these people to govern themselves, when we are saying that they are not equal to the pure institutions of which our vulgar official proclamations speak, why not turn to other countries? There is Turkey. Now, Turkey is nothing like as capable of self-government as the Filipinos: why not set up the beneficent authority of our government in Turkey? It is claimed by

some that France is not capable of self-government: why not set up our government in France? It is declared that Russia is incapable of self-government: let us send our armies and fleets to set up the blessings of our self-government in Russia.

But, let me ask you, have we proved ourselves capable of self-government? Is the thing you have in America today self-government? Is this order of things, by which every sacred national trust, by which the whole institution of government has passed into the hands of private corporations—is this self-government?

And, mark you, the very ones who are saying the Filipinos are not capable of self-government are the ones who are today saying, in pulpit and press and upon public occasions, that you are not capable of self-government. And if the corporate interests have their way, and deny self-government to the people of the Pearl of the Seas and in Cuba; if you follow blindly in that ruthless slaughter of liberty at its birth, then your turn will come. And, furthermore, this is the premeditated, deliberate purpose. The masters who, in the interests of their markets, are destroying the children of liberty across the seas, are the masters who are taking away self-government from you; the masters who are taking possession of your press, pulpit and parties, and who are declaring openly that the idea of self-government and universal suffrage is an impracticable dream after all. And if the spirit of our fathers, if our inheritance from the past, is so asleep in us that we submit to this crime of the centuries, we deserve to lose what liberty remains.

And what of the ghastly talk that has gone up from the pulpit of this country—God forgive us!—about necessary expansion in order to carry to island peoples the gospel of Christ! Here is an extract from an address by the Rev. Dr. John P. Brushingham, given at a meeting of clergymen in

this city, which is a mild specimen of the blood-thirsty war teaching of the pulpit:

"When Captain Gridley of the good ship Olympia fired that first gun at Cavite by permission and order of the great Admiral, May 1, 1898, it was heard around the world and became both a revelation and a prophecy. When the brave Dewey had destroyed the Spanish fleet there was placed upon the shoulders of our American commonwealth a new burden of responsibility, and there was opened up before it a wide door of opportunity to give the blessings of a modern form of government and Anglo-Saxon civilization to islands hitherto considered to be at the ends of the earth. I hear in the distant echo of Dewey's guns a prophecy that, under God and baptized by the Divine Spirit, we are equal to the responsibility of this great providential opening." Here is another—and we are getting our ideas about the gospel strangely illustrated in these days. Dr. Wayland Hoyt of Philadelphia says:

"Christ is the solution for the difficulty regarding national expansion. There never was a more manifest providence than the waving of Old Glory over the Philippines. The only thing we can do is to thrash the natives until they understand who we are. I believe every bullet sent, every cannon shot, every flag waved, means righteousness. When we have conquered anarchy, then is the time to send the Christ there."

Now, men, if anything could ten thousand times over justify the criticism I have made upon the attitude of the pulpit toward modern problems, nothing could do it so well as the hideous and blood-thirsty things that have been said in American Protestant pulpits during the past year. It is enough to make a man turn in shame from entering a Protestant church threshold. Behold the Protestant pulpit—and if any of you here are Protestant clergymen, God help you to lay the spectacle to your heart!—behold the Protestant pulpit advocating the carrying of what it calls the gospel of the Sermon on the Mount, carrying the love of the slain Christ from whose side poured the sacrificial blood that redeem, the world, at the point of brutal and remorseless massacre! What a strange revelation of the gos-

pel as it is understood by the church! Pray, where can we turn to find the gospel more brutally misunderstood than in the pulpit—the pulpit that proposes to send “the blessings of our Christianity and of our civilization” to the peoples across the seas?

Shall we send to them the blessed condition of the thousands who spend their lives in mines for two hundred dollars a year? Shall we send to them the blessings of the men and women who toil in the 900 sweat-shops of this city of Chicago? Shall we send to them the blessings of a civilization which enables private corporations to openly and insolently govern seventy millions of people for private profit? May God deliver the islanders of the sea from our civilization! And it ought to be the day and night prayer of everyone who bears the name of the lowly Christ—the Christ who put into this world the ideas and ideals that have been the foe and the destruction of every tyranny—that the islands of the sea shall be delivered from the hideous devil-worship which these pulpits preach as Christianity.

There was no need of this conflict, even after we had taken possession of the Philippines. If we had been decent with the envoys of this people, if we had given them some satisfactory word, if we had even told them what we intended to do, the conflict would have been avoided. But the conflict came because the administration of this nation is the bureau of plutocratic interests, and dared not show its hand to the public. There is one sole purpose behind imperialism and expansion, and that sole purpose is commercial speculation. Having destroyed the purchasing power of the people here in America—the power of the people to buy what they produce—the large corporations now seek markets abroad; they seek contract-slavery; they seek an inferior labor market; they seek not only to take possession of weaker nations for markets, but to establish an order of things which shall send the sons of this nation, at the people's expense, to protect them in their exploitation.

No friend of labor or of liberty will for one moment do anything but protest against American Imperialism. Imperialism is but a part of the modern industrial problem. Do not be deceived by it; for it is the corporate or plutocratic program by which, if you consent to the enslavement of the Filipinos, you will fasten the yoke of economic servitude upon yourselves. Senator Hoar was right when he said it meant the death knell of the Republic. All imperialisms, from the dawn of oriental despotisms down through the days when England began to reap fortunes and destroy countless millions of lives in India, have rested upon greed. Caesar was the chief of police of Roman corporate greed. India is today sucked dry of its life by English commercial greed. All tyranny rests upon greed. American Imperialism is merely the carrying out of the program of greed by which the holders of stocks and bonds purpose to industrially subject the world—the bond-holders and stockholders who are today the emperors of the emperors and their empires.

We had, I said, a matchless opportunity. What might we have done if we had been honorable, if we had, even after having gone into this war, liberated the peoples of the islands and said to them: "Now you are free; we will help you; we will give you self-government; work out your own problems; fulfill your own life; we will keep the nations of the world from you; but you are free?" We could have been the father of new nations—nations born to liberty and hope. But we have followed, to the shame of our children, a course of national infamy. There is but one atonement for our infamy, and that is to quit our present course, to retreat from this wickedness. Let there be such a public demand that for once, at least, the people shall be heard, even by the brutal master of our President—the master who ought to be wearing the convict's stripes, but whose money bought senatorial robes instead. To retreat

would take infinitely greater courage than to persist in wrong. But, for all times to come, such a retreat would set a lesson in national moral magnificence.

But you say that "we must be patriotic." I want to say a word about that. Do you know that what you call patriotism is mostly the platform of basest treason? The patriotism that today supports this government in shooting down men and women struggling for liberty is the patriotism that spoke in Caiaphas and the Sanhedrim, and that nailed Jesus to the cross. The patriotism that today supports this government in killing men and women struggling for liberty, is the patriotism that supported King Charles in England. The patriotism that supports this government in the massacre of a people and their liberty, is the patriotism that made Washington a rebel. The patriotism that supports this government in its course of perjury and treason to peoples across the seas, is the patriotism that dragged William Lloyd Garrison through the streets of Boston with a rope around his neck. Every great public treason masquerades under the hypocrisy of patriotism. Every existing wrong order seeks to brand with treason the lovers of liberty. In all ages, patriotism so-called has been the last refuge of usurped and special privileges.

Gentlemen, some of us see your game. The men who always cry, "treason," at every free expression of opinion, are themselves the traitors who are destroying the nation for private profit. The men who today cry, "anarchy," are the corporate anarchists that have overthrown the liberties of the nation. The men who, in all history, cry for law and order are the tyrants who massacre human life and defy every law of God and man. It is the traitor—and you can brand him at once as a traitor—who dares, in this nation, to say that a man is a traitor because he expresses a protest against public wrong.

I yield to no man in love of my country. But I love my country, my fellow-citizens, too much to be silent while step by step, stealth by stealth, fraudulent effort by fraudulent effort, the liberties of the people are being stolen away; while the life and hope and self-government of the people are being ground in the industrial mill; while the peoples of the islands of the seas are betrayed and massacred in order that you may be still further betrayed and economically massacred. I love my country and my fellow-citizens too much to be silent and complacent about the monstrous wrongs that are destroying human life the world over. I could be untrue to you in no other way so much as by being silent concerning these wrongs. It would be better for you, it would be better for me, to give ten thousand lives rather than to be silent about the awful wrongs that are culminating in the destruction of the nation, if they are not remedied. It is time that we have done—and we will have done!—with this flagrant and arrogant hypocrisy that cries, “patriotism,” whenever its tyranny and debauchery are attacked.

Surely, there must be left in this nation, in the great common heart and life of this people, enough of the spirit of the Pilgrims, who crossed the seas in order that they might be free to live their own lives; enough of the spirit of the Huguenots, who laid down their lives rather than live under lies; enough of the spirit of the New England fathers, who gathered in those mass meetings which Mr. Leckey calls “riots and mobs;” enough of the spirit of Jefferson and Phillips and Garrison and Sumner and Lincoln; enough of our inheritance of liberty, of moral honesty, of spiritual reserve, to declare to our government that this massacre of men and women struggling for liberty shall come to an end. For you and me to consent to it is to betray our fathers, betray the Christ who died to set all peoples free, and betray every man who has risen up to speak the word of freedom to his people. There must be in this great city by

the inland sea enough of God and manhood, enough of disinterestedness, to arise in mighty moral revolt and command our rulers to say to the Filipinos: "You are free; we are your friends; we are not your enemies; you are not rebels; our people shall not exploit you; go in peace; take our blessing as a nation; take our protection; forgive our shame and treason; and suffer us to wipe out our shame in service for liberty's sake."

"I believe the things that Christian Socialism stands for, and, were I not 'teetotally' occupied, would go into the movement heart and soul, as indeed I have done in public utterances for many years. O, that I were young again, and it should have my life! It is God's way out of the wilderness and into the Promised Land. It is the very marrow and fatness of Christ's Gospel. It is Christianity applied."

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

FOREWORD.

To those who are immersed in the growing movement for the regeneration of social and national ideals upon the foundation of mutuality and brotherhood it will not be necessary to apologize for "The Social Forum." To all such it is well known that, except in a desultory and fragmentary way, the ordinary channels of publicity are closed to the message of the men who are doing the most for the newer and better social day.

In the first place, therefore, it is proposed to give in each number of "The Social Forum" an extended article upon some subject of present interest, the first of these (which will be found in this number) being the Central Music Hall Lecture of Professor George D. Herron, of Iowa College, upon the subject of "American Imperialism." The next issue will contain another lecture by the same eminent thinker, upon the topic of "Man the Creator." The leading feature in each succeeding number will, in like manner, be from some master hand upon some topic of vital and present day interest.

The general contents of "The Social Forum" will include news, notes and comments upon current events as they affect social or national life; reviews and notices of books, old and new, bearing upon social, political and religious questions; and articles touching upon local, national and world-wide movements as they aid or retard the social culmination which is the ideal of every altruistic soul—that day of universal brotherhood which some look forward to as the Social Commonwealth, some as the Millennium, and others as the Kingdom of God.

The discussions of "The Social Forum" will be broad

enough to cover all the larger questions of political, municipal and industrial concern. The editorial point of view which will be assumed will necessarily be radical, because based upon a conviction that the fundamental principles of the present political, ecclesiastical, industrial and social order are commercialism, greed and selfishness, and that these have their fruition in every kind of political, social and individual wrong and injustice.

The discussions therefore will be directed against existing conditions and systems rather than against the individuals who represent them, and in favor of radical rather than mere surface reforms. They will stand for a real republic and real democracy in which the people shall rule; for a real commonwealth in which the things which make wealth shall be common to all; for a real Christianity in which the Golden Rule of mutual and loving service shall be the guiding principle, a Christianity ungyved by man-made formulas or denominational conventions.

While The Social Forum will strive to be a faithful fighter against the wrongs and iniquities of the existing order, it will not lack for optimistic incitements to better initiatives and higher ideals, believing that the leaven of a new time and a regenerated world is so actively at work that the day of redemption can not be far off.

The Social Forum comes practically unheralded and in humble guise. Whether it shall grow and prosper is a matter which its readers must decide for it. As Lincoln said about another matter: "If they like this sort of thing it is the very sort of thing they will like."

EDITORIAL.

However obnoxious the present administration may be to the mind and conscience of reformers, it is at least useful in the same way that the temperance lecturer utilized a besotted companion whom he carried around the country with him as a "horrid example." For instance, those who believe that the responsible heads of departments should be elected by the people and be subject to recall by them, can point with confidence to Alger. What would not the people do with him, if they could only get at him by means of the ballot?

* * *

There are others, not only in the National muster-roll of tax-eating incompetents or worse, but also scattered around among the pay-roll worthies of the several states. There's Tanner, of Illinois, for instance. I have really become afraid to speak his name to Republicans in the northern part of the state, because I find the mere mention provocative of profanity of the most appalling luridness.

* * *

Not only are the forces of reform being furnished with arguments by the political powers that be, but they are being even more strongly armed by the acts of the real masters—the industrial and commercial lords who own practically all the politicians, large and small, from the White House to the smallest municipal office. The poor service, the extortions and the insolence of the men who control the street railways, their grasping efforts to secure a perpetuity of tenure for their franchises, the corrupting of officials, the defiance of law and disregard of authority which they display, are all adding to the force of the argument for municipal ownership.

The utter lawlessness of street railway corporations has been strongly displayed in Chicago, where, in spite of an ordinance requiring the companies to place fenders on the cars, they have made little effort to comply with it and still go on maiming and murdering people because of the parsimony which causes them to neglect these safeguards.

* * *

It is still more strongly shown in the developments in the courts, where the fact that juries are habitually bribed to find for the companies in damage suits has been made apparent. By the spiriting away of the corrupt bailiff who was the go-between in the bribery processes by which the traction companies benefited, the criminals have escaped legal conviction, but quite enough has been shown to make certain the fact that these nefarious corporations are habitually engaged in poisoning the springs of justice at the fountain head.

* * *

As a matter of fact, the various transportation and industrial combines and monopolies live and move and have their being as a result of their power to influence or corrupt officials and break the law. Formerly, when a company was formed to make any article it was usual to choose for the head of the concern either a man who knew the practical details of the business from end to end, or else a man who had special ability in the financial management of large enterprises. But in these days we have changed all that. The men who are now chosen, at salaries equalling or exceeding that paid the President of the United States, to be at the head of the new style of combine, are lawyers who, as the faithful servitors of corporations, have shown their ability to override the law, or to "persuade" legislators to change it.

* * *

During several years past the fact that laws have no binding force against trusts and monopolies has over and

over again been demonstrated. There are laws in plenty to be enforced against the poor, the friendless and the moneyless man. Even the Federal law against trusts (which has over and over again been declared to be inoperative against those whom it was ostensibly passed to restrain) was found strong enough and valid enough to send Debs to jail by the injunction route. But neither that nor any other enactment, State or Federal, is potent enough to prevent the Standard Oil Company from burning its books and refusing to testify, or to compel the sugar trust magnates to answer the questions of a Senate investigating committee. Anti-blacklist laws against railway companies, anti-canteen laws to keep the rum-power from wrecking the bodies and souls of the young lads who have gone to the front to fight the country's battles, anti-truck-store laws for the protection of miners—in fact all laws whatever that are passed to curb the rapacity or soulless inhumanity of the lords of industry—are ground to impalpable powder when they come between the upper and nether millstones of a corporation judge on the bench and a corporation lawyer at the bar.

* * *

There are many people who have the spirit of reform in their hearts, but are yet in the darkness of total blindness as to the remedy. They see laws knocked over like a child's house of cards, and yet they clamor for more laws; just as the child, whose card-house is overturned by a breath, will rebuild the structure upon a new plan more top-heavy and unstable than before.

* * *

What is wanted is power for the people to make their own laws; to enact by operation of the initiative and referendum such laws as they desire, and to make all such laws final and irrevocable except by a like exercise of the sovereign will—putting it beyond the power of any

corporation hireling who may happen to be on the bench to abrogate any enactment which bears the fiat of the people's direct mandate.

* * *

As the people would thus have direct control over their laws, so also they should have immediate supervision over all officers, executive, legislative and judicial. These officers could be elected without any definite tenure, so that the people could leave a faithful agent at his post as long as they desired to have him, without the turmoil of constantly recurring electoral struggles. On the other hand, the electorate should have the right to recall any president, governor, judge, sheriff, constable, legislator, senator or other officer whom they judged to be corrupt, incompetent or unrepresentative. Then the power would be in the people's hands and the true theory of democratic government "of the people, by the people and for the people" would be in operation for the first time in this country.

* * *

A New York paper publishes interviews with prominent politicians on the subject of trusts. Senator Depew declared that the Republican party would put into its next platform a plank declaring against all trusts. Meanwhile the present Republican administration (like the last Democratic one) has been busily engaged in fostering trusts by declaring that the law can not touch them.

* * *

As a matter of fact the trust is a part of the inevitable evolution of industry. The competitive system has proved a failure and must give way to a collective system. The fault of the trust is that it is an attempt to escape the evils of competition and secure the advantages of consolidation for the benefit of a few individuals. Soon the trusts will begin to consolidate with each other until there are only two or three of them. When they get to

that pitch of completeness the people will doubtless resume their own, and take the trusts over as the common property of the nation.

* * *

The academic relations of the Oil Trust are widening, and one of the tentacles of the octopus (Archbold by name) has secured a firm clutch on Syracuse University. As a result Professor John Rogers Commons, professor of sociology, who had been guilty of lèse majesté in daring to raise his voice against trusts in general, and the oil trust in particular, was dismissed from the faculty at the request of Magnate Archbold, made through a complaisant and subservient chancellor. Thus the "divine right" of the "business interests" to academic as well as economic mastery in this country has been again vindicated. Incidentally, Syracuse University has lost the ablest member of its faculty. In the old days they stoned the prophets. Now they throttle them.

* * *

I said that Professor Commons was "dismissed," but the phrase needs a glossarial explanation. The usual procedure is to ask for the "resignation" of the black-listed offender. But in the present case the trustees reported that they did not have sufficient funds to continue the chair of sociology. Which was a neat, if cowardly, way of doing the job.

* * *

From many directions rumblings are heard along the line of the academic horizon, and there are forecasters who predict further thunderbolts from the financial Joves who control various collegiate institutions. They are not all Standard Oil universities and colleges at which the misguided educators have arrayed themselves, Ajax-like, against the capitalistic lightning. Other monopoly interests have learned the Standard Oil trick, and as there are few collegiate institutions where corporation

influence is not potent, it behooves professors of economics, sociology and the like to learn to pipe monopoly's tune, or prepare for the worst.

* * *

The late Roswell Pettibone Flower was the sturdiest of all defenders of the trusts—indeed, the only man who painted them in tints entirely roseate. These modern combinations do not lack defenders, but the ablest of them are apologetic in tone, admitting defects, but declaring the trusts a necessity of progress. Not so Flower, who deemed the trusts good things in and for themselves. His “advice to young men” was unique. “Quit throwing stones at the trusts,” he said, “and get into ’em.” Which reminds me of the remark attributed to an English noblewoman who had just had read to her a paragraph about a family dying of starvation. “Foolish people!” exclaimed her ladyship, “why, I would sooner eat bread and cheese than starve!”

* * *

The Kingdom, that faithful tribune of righteousness, has been compelled to cease publication. It had published an exposé of the methods by which the School-Book Trust is debauching and corrupting common school administrations throughout the country. The trust sued for damages, charging libel. The Kingdom proved the truth of its charges in six out of seven of the specific instances of corruption it had charged against the trust. Because of the absence of a witness it was unable to specifically prove the seventh at that time; nor did the trust prove that it had been libeled by that charge. The judge, with a degree of friendliness not uncommon in the amenities between the bench and the trusts, ordered a verdict to be rendered against The Kingdom. The judgment was for \$7,500, and under it a voice, which had been strong and steadfast in its advocacy of social righteousness, was stilled at the behest of one of the most shame-

less and unscrupulous of our numerous monopolistic conspiracies.

* * *

It is easy to stifle a voice, but in God's providence it is not possible to destroy a message, if that message be a true one. The destruction of The Kingdom is a loss to the cause it so well represented, but the principles for which The Kingdom stood are eternal and will find no lack of devoted men to advocate them, to suffer for them and, if need be, to die for them and the Master whose they are, until they have their fruition in the full-come Kingdom of God.

* * *

It is the aim of The Social Forum to stand for all that The Kingdom stood for. The methods of stating and handling the questions discussed may not be the same as those of the older publication; but now that The Kingdom is no more, its friends may find its message continued in this publication, although the voice in which it is delivered may at first seem to be an unfamiliar one.

* * *

The voice will at least be a bold and honest one, speaking truth as it conceives the truth to be; respectful to every opinion that looks forward to a betterment of humanity and tolerant of every programme which tries to point the way to the reign of brotherhood and the day-break of social regeneration, whether it be that of the single-taxer, the constructive socialist, the advocate of equal suffrage, or the man who sees all of these and other reforms as a necessary part of applied Christianity.

* * *

The preponderance of the question of imperialism in the present number of The Social Forum naturally arises from the way in which that question is at this moment forced upon the attention of every man who thinks. But

those who follow our course will find us equally in earnest in connection with other reforms, including the stepping-stone of the initiative and referendum, the public ownership and operation of all public utilities, direct election of all public officers, with power to recall them, and all other reforms as they may come within reach, which shall tend to realize the ideal of a perfect brotherhood among men.

* * *

The Rev. DeLoss M. Tompkins, D. D., in an address to the Methodist ministers of Chicago May 8, truly said that no nation was less prepared to undertake the government of colonies than our own. He might have gone farther and said that it is impossible for this country to rob another of its liberties and retain its own. For with what measure we mete, even so it shall be meted to us. That is sound gospel, and it is the undeviatingly true lesson of all history. The relation between sowing and reaping is apparent upon every historical page. Sow aggression, reap militarism; sow militarism, reap imperialism; sow imperialism, reap serfdom for the masses of the people.

* * *

The careful observer will note that few representative working-men have been found to take the side of imperialism in the present agitation. Which shows their good sense. It would be but a short time after the subjugation of the Philippines before the cheap labor of the islands, with its Asiatic standard of living, would be imported by the corporations to do their work at less than half the present wage-scale. It has been found measurably possible to prevent the importation of Chinese laborers by exclusion acts—but such acts could not, of course, be enforced against the people of a territory of the United States, such as it is proposed to make of the Philippines, and the 10,000,000 inhabitants of those is-

lands would be a perfect reservoir of cheap labor for the industrial lords to draw upon.

* * *

We hear of a good many ministers who are voicing approval of the American war of aggression in the Philippines, but so far I have not noted that any of them has found any authority for their position in the sayings of the Savior of men, whose followers they profess to be. When I hear of the daily murder of men, women and children for no other reason than that they aspire to freedom I am often impressed with that most momentous of all of the sayings of Jesus: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto Me."

* * *

The claim that the Filipinos are not fit for and do not want self-government, that Aguinaldo does not represent them, and that they need to be under strong control, has a familiar sound. It used to be claimed that the negro did not want freedom, indeed it would be cruelty to them as well as dangerous to the public peace to set them free. The present contention about the Filipinos is the same old argument adapted to modern conditions.

* * *

I have read the speeches of the "Loyalist" meeting at the Chicago Auditorium, I have read scores of editorials in secular and "religious" papers, I have read the delightful symposium of opinions of the editors composing the Society for the Suppression of News—yclept The Associated Press—published in the Chicago Times-Herald of May 17, but I have found no argument in favor of the present policy of aggression in the Philippines except the robber argument that (as one of the aforesaid editors brutally but frankly expressed it) "it is the duty of the United States to keep all it has and get all it can." Some of the advocates of "expansion" or imperialism disguise

their arguments with flowery verbiage, but they all amount to the same thing. Burglars, or hyenas, or hogs could subscribe to the ethics of the imperialistic argument, which, plainly stated, is, that might makes right.

THE CASE OF ATKINSON.

The imperialistic tendencies of the times are being each day emphasized by a more flagrant and open avowal of the purpose of this administration to sweep away every barrier in the way to a complete and unmitigated despotism.

We have boasted of our free press, and while it has been known that the utterances of the daily papers, the magazines and other media of information have been purchased or throttled by the cajoleries or threats of dominant and rampant commercialism, it was at least thought that any person who had an opinion on any political, religious or social subject could, if he chose, turn pamphleteer and give his thoughts such circulation as his means to pay for printing and postage could procure.

But even this refuge is no longer left to the disgruntled. The administration has assumed the role of censor not only in the military camps of the Philippines, but even in the literary and liberty-loving city of Boston, under the shadow of Bunker Hill, and in the neighborhood of that harbor where the patriots (or anti-loyalists) of that city, with eleutheromaniac ardor, sent the obnoxious tea to steep in the adjacent waters.

Edward Atkinson, who long since became known as a pamphleteer of copious fecundity, ventured to give an opinion of the Philippine invasion which did not accord with that of McKinley, or Alger, or Hanna, or some other of the present political bosses, and to put that opinion into print. Thereupon the bosses aforesaid decided to

refuse to Mr. Atkinson the use of the mails for the circulation of his pamphlets.

The excuse made is that the pamphlets were "treasonable." If that were true, it was the unquestioned duty of the administration to have Mr. Atkinson arrested and tried for so grave a charge. But the government knew no such a charge could be sustained, and the refusal of the mails to Mr. Atkinson is a bold assumption of the right of the bosses to use the mails to suppress criticism upon their blunders, crimes and misdeeds. The precedent will be further used, and it will take but a short time, unless the people make their disapproval of such tyranny emphatic, before differences of opinion upon other political questions—the currency, for instance, or the tariff, will be made excuse for refusing the mails—for it is as easy to characterize these as treason as it is any other opinions—if we once admit the theory that the ipse dixit of the administration is all that is required to decide what is or is not treasonable.

"GOLDEN RULE JONES."

The re-election of Samuel M. Jones as mayor of Toledo is very significant. Mr. Jones has made himself famous as the "Golden-Rule Mayor," and as the champion of the people against predatory corporations. Of course this made him distasteful to the Republican machine, for Mr. Jones had been elected as a Republican, and the politicians found little personal profit in that kind of a mayor. Therefore they refused him another term and nominated a candidate who suited them better. The Democrats and Prohibitionists also put up candidates. Mr. Jones was brought out as an independent candidate, running on his record and a platform of municipal ownership and the Golden Rule. The press fulminated and

the pulpit thundered against a man and a programme so revolutionary, and the "better classes," so-called, joined the assault. But, as was the case with the Author of the Golden Rule, "the common people heard him gladly"—the result being that Jones received many more votes than all of the other three candidates put together.

The after-results are plaguing the politicians greatly. Many admirers of Mr. Jones are thinking of making him a candidate for governor, and there was some talk of securing for him the Republican nomination. But Senator Hanna, who holds the Republican party of Ohio in the hollow of his hand, hastened to veto any such revolutionary proposition, stating that no man of Mr. Jones' principles could get a State nomination.

The saying was reported to Jones. "Well," said he, "that settles it, for I can not change my principles. Here I am, and here I stick." So that if it is to be Governor Jones instead of Mayor Jones it will have to be in an independent campaign again, under the Golden Rule banner. There are those who say that Jones could win in this larger arena. Speed the day!

The cheering feature is the ease with which Mr. Jones won. It shows that there is a love of righteousness abroad among the common people and that one in whom they have confidence needs no more specific platform than the Golden Rule.

Blessings on Jones! May his tribe increase!

THE TERMINOLOGY OF IMPERIALISM.

In connection with the present unholy war of conquest and spoliation, waged in the name of progress and Christianity by the present administration against the Filipinos, who are fighting for their liberties, there have been introduced some startling and unwonted uses of English words.

First of these is the word "rebel." The head-lines of the censored dispatches use this word almost invariably. Now, a "rebel" (according to the Century Dictionary) is "one who makes war upon the government of his country from political motives," and the Filipinos are no more rebels in endeavoring to repel our invading armies than would be the inhabitants of Mexico or Turkey or France if we should make a similar vandal descent upon their countries.

"Benevolent assimilation" is another new euphemism which, in view of the number of dead and amount of loot recorded in the public and private accounts of the progress of our armies, is full of grim irony. It is best defined for common appreciation by substituting the word "murderous" for "benevolent" and "theft" for "assimilation." But then those engaged in nefarious practices always like to have their guilt concealed by phraseology. So the influential shop-lifter is a "kleptomaniac" and the wealthy gambler a "speculator." Says honest Pistol: "'Convey,' the wise it call; 'steal!' foh; a fico for the phrase!"

In like manner the "white man's burden" of Kipling has been used as expressing a duty of the white man to "carry the blessings of civilization and Christianity to the Filipinos if we have to kill half of them in order to do it," as one of the military advocates of imperialism has expressed it.

More recent tendencies in the imperialistic terminology relate to the division of opinion at home in regard to the Philippine invasion. Those who oppose the continuance of war find themselves branded as "traitors" by the imperialistic press, while those who favor further bloodshed are ranked as "loyalists." In one view of it the latter is not a bad characterization. In our own Revolutionary War those who stood for the divine right of George III. to rule this land called themselves "loyal-

ists," and were eloquent in their denunciation of the doctrine of the "consent of the governed" as the basis of just governmental powers. These "loyalists" of 1899 have the same arguments against the Filipino patriots which the loyalists of 1776 used against the American patriots of that day, who were also declared to be incapable of self-government and sure to lapse into anarchy if their "treasonable rebellion" against King George should succeed.

JUSTICE CONTROLLED BY COMMERCIALISM.

Commercialism has so strong a hold on the tribunals and ministers of public justice that the decisions of courts, officials and investigating boards are no-longer a matter of anxiety. In almost every given case it is as easy to say what the report or decision will be at the beginning as at the end of the investigation.

The recent beef inquiry is a case in point. It was known beforehand that it would end in liberal coatings of judicial whitewash. The murderous wickedness of serving to our soldiers as a ration the squeezed-out pulp of beef from which the nutriment had been expressed in the form of beef extract, was shown to be the regular practice, but no punishment resulted to those who had thus deliberately dealt out death by starvation to the flag's defenders.

Equally well it might have been known that the anticanteen law of Congress would be nullified as soon as the attorney-general could get at it, for the interests on one side were the brewers and the whisky trust, on the other side only ethical and religious influences. Of course the commercial interests won. So the work of wrecking souls and making drunkards goes on. It is said that an appeal will be made to Mr. McKinley to use his authority

as commander-in-chief to stop the soul-destroying traffic, but the chief will be found just as ready to befriend the liquor combine as was his subordinate.

The attorney-general has also rendered a service to the combines by refusing to still carry on the pretense of prosecuting them and by declaring that the industrial trusts are only amenable to State laws. As most of the State courts have held that they can do nothing with these combines because their legality is a matter of Federal cognizance, it will be seen that the law, as it is administered, is as handy as the old colored man's coon trap, of which its owner said: "Dish yer's de handies' trap in de worl"—it catches 'em a-comin' an' it catches 'em a-gwine."

These are only a few isolated cases of the practical control of all judicial functions by those who violate the law in the name of the "business interests." And the most tragic feature of the matter is that the public is getting so used to that sort of thing that it does not even arouse itself sufficiently to protest.

RELIGION, ECONOMICS, POLITICS.

All people who think have agreed for some time upon the negative proposition that the present social order is not right. Even men who do not think have somehow felt that this is true.

The first to grasp the situation was the wily professional politician, and his calamity howl made a very great stir, but somehow his proposed remedies did not win the confidence of the people.

Then came the economists, each with a theory that would change the social order and set the world right. But while these quarreled among themselves, the people wagged their heads and passed on.

Now come Herron, Gladden, Bliss and Wilson, who speak not as politicians or economists, but as teachers

of Christianity. Lo! the people listen, many of them long since estranged from the church, and the great social movement, as a conscious movement of humanity, has fairly begun.

In the natural order, therefore, first comes the new religious impulse; not really new, for this was the impulse that carried Jesus in triumph to the cross. But new for to-day, because in our yesterdays we saw this truth but dimly.

This divine impulse in the human breast leads men to re-examine their relations and inter-relations, especially those which exist through the possession and use of things. So out from the new religious impulse comes a new economics, and the minds of men are filled with the ideal of the co-operative commonwealth, which Jesus for his own time called the kingdom of God.

When the people are universally held by this vision, their new ideal must discover a common means of expression and realization. This is the new politics (in order to the new state) which is scarcely begun—that politico-economics termed Socialism.

I know that I will be told that socialism is not a sentiment; that it is the coming evolution or revolution which can be demonstrated by science, and in no manner depends upon religion for its coming. True, but there is socialism and socialism. It is not possible for us to have a choice between democracy in the sources and means of production on the one hand and some other social order on the other. But it is ours to choose either a military socialism which comes as a grim necessity through class hatred, or a socialism which is founded on brotherhood and allows to the individual all that freedom which is dictated by the heart of love.

This latter and preferable consummation can come only as we follow the natural order, religion, economics,

politics. Herein lies the greatest opportunity and therefore the greatest duty that ever faced the religious teachers of any age. The present cowardly or hesitating attitude of the average Christian minister or teacher is the tragedy of the present hour.

The man who stands for the truth which this article tries to state, finds himself between the proverbial two fires. The religionist will tell him that he is foisting socialism upon religion; the socialist will tell him that he is foisting religion upon socialism. The fact is that the only true economic and political outcome of Christianity is socialism. Apply Christianity (and how can it exist unapplied) to capitalism, and socialism is the only result, a result which must come, because truth is mighty and must prevail. As the application of the ethics of Jesus to monarchical tyranny resulted in democratic government, so the further application of Christian ethics to our modern development of industrial tyranny will result in economic democracy, that is, socialism.

Which will you choose, military socialism, out of which the race by another cycle of progress must develop its brotherhood of freedom, or Christian socialism, where the one law is love and the one service is love.

Understand me: socialism must come, even in order that the human race may progress, for capitalism can carry it no farther. But whether this coming revolution be the final social travail of the human race depends upon whether in our transition we act like Christians or pagans.

FRED'K G. STRICKLAND.

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BOOK THOUGHTS.

The United States Department of Labor is doing some very good work along the line of furnishing statistics on subjects of current inquiry. The January Bulletin contained an important compilation upon the Condition of Railway Labor in Europe, while the March number had a 128-page article on Pawnbroking in Europe. Both of these are statistical productions of great merit and usefulness for reference in connection with the subjects expressed in their titles.

It is the intention of The Social Forum to make the discussion of books a prominent feature. The dissemination of good literature upon sociological and economic subjects is bound to be the principal factor in bringing about the better day to which the vision of the reformer is directed, and with this view it is proposed to discuss the books, new and old, bearing upon these and related topics.

"Pauperizing the Rich," a handsome volume of 426 pages, just issued, has attracted my attention too late for personal reading before the issue of The Social Forum goes to press. I have looked into it sufficiently, however, to discover that it is worth reading. I hope to give the book critical notice in the next issue. Meanwhile, Mr. George A. Schilling, whose work as Secretary of the Illinois Labor Commission during the years 1893-7 commends him to the favor of all who have their social eyes open, has read the book, and has favored The Social Forum with some thoughts which his perusal of it has evoked.

BETWEEN CÆSAR AND JESUS.

Among those who are the working missionaries of social regeneration are included, most fortunately, men of scholarship and erudition, men of personal and spiritual power, men of high ability and higher purpose, of noble soul impelled by the most exalted ideals.

Of these the one who is making the most profound impress (both with friends and foes) is Prof. George D. Herron, of Iowa College, whose previous books have all met wide recognition as classics in Christian Sociology, but whose latest work,—*"Between Cæsar and Jesus,"*—takes a place among the literature of the social movement of the day at once unique and momentous.

The book contains eight lectures, originally delivered at Willard Hall, Chicago, in the late autumn of 1898, and repeated in the months of February and March, 1899, at Central Music Hall in the same city, both of these courses being under the auspices of the National Christian Citizenship League. The large audiences which these lectures attracted, the enthusiasm they evoked, and the lasting impression which they left in many minds, all show the strength of the message which Dr. Herron delivered, and that these lectures, as platform deliverances, were decidedly successful.

But it is not every lecture series which, after having been delivered to pleased and impressed audiences, can stand the crucial test of printing and binding and successfully face the critical perusal and study of the philosophic inquirer. It was my pleasure—one which will always hold a favored place in my memory—to hear these lectures as they were originally delivered, and also to hear some of them repeated. Since they have appeared in book form, I have read them through twice—and portions of the book several times—with the result that I am even more strongly impressed with it in the book than I was with the spoken lectures: for the matter and manner of this volume are both admirably adapted to critical and deliberate perusal.

First, as to the style. The reader who delights in literature as literature—whose taste has been formed by the best models during the plastic period of literary gustation—will be deeply gratified by the thoroughly literary form in which the thoughts here given utterance find their expression in the well-chosen word, the well-rounded phrase—rhythmic and stately without being at any time either redundant or stilted.

But it is the matter rather than the form of the book, the outpoured soul rather than the words which constitute its conduit, which now interest us. The general sub-

ject is the relation of the Christian conscience to the existing social system. In effect the book is an exhaustive survey of that system as it affects the present and future of the human race, and it applies to the existing conditions the teachings of Jesus—as shown in His words and concrete example.

It would be impossible to follow the argument of the book in any review of it. Briefly, the statement is made in the first lecture of the ethical tragedy of the social problem—which involves a daily sacrifice on the part of a Christian man of “the right to do right; the right to obey an enlightened conscience; the right to earn his living in such a way as to help the living of every other man; the right to live a guiltless life.” The second lecture relates to the “Social Sacrifice of Conscience,” which makes the only Christian innocence in a world of wrong the sacrifice of one’s life in bearing away that wrong, and proceeds to show the need for a religious initiative which shall enlighten the yet untaught Christian conscience, and mobilize the spiritual forces of Christendom for the economic redemption. The third lecture deals with the question of “Public Resources and Spiritual Liberty,” and contains a most cogently stated plea for the public ownership of the sources and means of production as the sole basis of spiritual liberty and the sole answer to the Social question. This leads up to the discussion, in the fourth lecture, of “The Relation of Christian Doctrine to Private Property,” the direct teaching of Christ and the custom of the early Church being shown to be essentially communistic in their establishing of practical human equality in all sorts of resources. The fifth chapter is on “The Conflict of Christ with Civilization,” showing the fundamental antagonism between existing civilization and the teachings of Jesus. Even stronger is the sixth lecture, which deals with “The Conflict of Christ with Christianity,” and in which the pres-

ent attitude of the Church is shown to be in direct variance with the teachings of Jesus. This lecture has been wildly attacked, but the reader who does not find in it an ideal worth striving for and a broadly optimistic vision of social redemption lacks either spiritual insight or critical faculty. The seventh lecture deals with "Industrial Facts and Social Ideals," applying the standards of Jesus to these problems of the hour, while the last one is on "The Victory of Failure," and shows that through the sacrifice and failure of the individual idealist human emancipation may be expected to come, and at this climax the book closes with a vision of the final conquest of Love and Liberty.

The book is radiant with thoughts that breathe and multiply, with ideals that tend to the opening of eyes that are blinded to the reality of the connection between the existing social question and the teachings of Jesus, thus at the same time spiritualizing the task of social redemption and giving concrete substance to the gospel—a gospel divested of its theological formulas and the ecclesiastical machinery which clogs its forward movement, and set free for the social redemption of the world.

(Between Cæsar and Jesus—By George D. Herron; pp. 278, 12mo.; cloth 75 cents, paper 40 cents. The Social Forum.)

LIVE QUESTIONS.

A volume made up of the speeches, writings and official papers of a man who has been out in the light of public scrutiny for a decade and a half must necessarily derive its value from the personality of the man, and his qualities as a leader. A voice may be eloquent upon themes of current interest, but if it be but the mere echo of conventional opinion it will be only a voice, and noth-

ing else, and its cadences will die away with an echo-like rapidity. When, however, the voice is that of a leader, its constructive force continues to be felt so long as the issues to which it addresses itself retain their vitality.

The large book bearing the title of "Live Questions," by John P. Altgeld, possesses the rare merit of being the work of a man in whom the qualities of leadership are especially emphasized. The book comprises his papers, speeches and interviews; also his messages to the Legislature of Illinois, and a statement of the facts which influenced his course as Governor on several famous occasions. In the book may be found expressions upon every political question which has come up for solution or discussion, for Mr. Altgeld has been in the forefront of every fight in which a principle has been at stake. As it is chronologically arranged, the book is interesting as a psychological study of a man who, actuated throughout by the highest ideals of liberty, was at first content with the discussion of much needed improvements in our penal machinery, but grew and grew in statesman-like stature until we find him, in the later pages of the book, leading in the larger conflict for the widest liberty of the whole people through the medium of the initiative and referendum, the municipal ownership of public utilities and the other means and instrumentalities for a liberated national and communal life.

It is, of course, impossible, in a short review, to enumerate the contents of a book of a thousand pages covering every public question which has arisen in the past decade. It may, however, be said, that here is a well-stocked armory of facts and arguments in which, whatever the issue involved, a bold stand is taken in behalf of liberty, for equality of opportunity for the masses of the people, and for the highest ideals of social and national life. It is especially strong upon the money question, and in the several speeches dealing with that

subject which are included in the volume may be found the most perfect presentation of the case against the gold standard, both historically and economically considered.

The question of the trusts and combinations receives equally thoughtful treatment, and in several of the papers are to be found true characterizations of these forms of monopoly, while still more attention is given to those reforms which, by restoring power to the people, will bring about the downfall of these and all other conspiracies against the public welfare.

Yet, strong as is the voice which here speaks for all of the reforms that are vital to the people, the highest patriotism and the most perfect sanity pervades the suggestions as to remedies. This will be made clear by a brief extract from Governor Altgeld's Brooklyn speech of July 5, 1897:

"You hear men say in light speech that we must have reform or revolution. My friends, in this land revolution can offer no hope to the toiler. It simply means more cruelty, more police and more military. It means a brutal despotism with more flunkeyism and snobbery at the top and more misery at the bottom. Let us move along the line of evolution. Let the plant of justice break through the crust by natural processes. We have peaceable remedies in our hands; all we need is courage to apply them."

In dealing with the various questions he discusses, Mr. Altgeld shows a boldness and directness which give the force of undeviating sincerity to his utterances. He has his own way of handling an argument: but it is always a logical way, and one which appeals to the mind by its frank common sense.

The student of political and social questions will need this book as a part of his equipment. No man in public life in this country has done more to impress his per-

sonal opinions upon the common thought of the nation than has Governor Altgeld. This is because he is a constructive man who has many of the larger qualities of statesmanship, and who does not need to wait for some other man to speak before deciding what to say on any subject affecting the welfare of the people.

(Live Questions—By John P. Altgeld, pp. 1009; \$2.50. Geo. S. Bowen & Son, Unity Bldg., Chicago.)

RICH AND POOR PAUPERS.

"Pauperizing the Rich," by Alfred J. Ferris, is a presentation of the subject of pauperism from the standpoint of one who seeks industrial equity as the basis of our social life. "The purpose of the book," says the author, "is to investigate the World's Charitable List." But, unlike the average writer on this theme, who only rails about the degradation of the poor, as the recipients of alms, Mr. Ferris exposes the pauperized rich, "who reap where they do not sow." By his definition he makes "the World's Charitable List include all who receive for their own benefit the fruit of others' labor," and then devotes 426 pages to the demonstration of this proposition.

This book will certainly make very interesting reading to the whole brood of millionaire paupers who have secured their colossal fortunes by plundering the public through legal privileges of whatever kind or character, and then seek to enshrine their names in a glorified immortality with their fellow men, by doling out a portion of their "swag" in so-called philanthropic work.

This is why Rockefeller, who, with all the heartless cruelty of a savage, crushed the life out of his competitors, has endowed a university, while Charles T. Yerkes donates \$500,000 for a telescope to the same institution,

so that the attention of the citizens of Chicago may be diverted from the streets to the moon.

I would advise the author to send a copy of his book to that renowned pauper of Homestead fame, Mr. Carnegie, who has recently withdrawn from business and has announced that he proposes to spend his immense fortune, while he yet lives, for the public good; for, says he, "to die rich is to die disgraced."

Why "die disgraced," unless it was acquired by disgraceful methods and under conditions that were dishonorable and unjust? Somehow his statement forces the conclusion that he feels he has soiled his hands, dwarfed and mutilated his soul in its acquisition, and that he seeks to make some kind of restitution before he dies in ways that will win him public approbation.

But public approbation is a transient thing, and unless one builds for the centuries upon the rock of equal justice to all he may find that the approbation of to-day becomes the execration of to-morrow.

If Carnegie could read this book and fall in line with its spirit, he could become a mighty force in that world-wide movement which seeks to liberate mankind from the thralldom of industrial bondage that degrades both rich and poor. What the world needs is the gospel of self-help, self-reliance and personal responsibility. This can only be developed by the overthrow of special privileges and the inauguration of an industrial system in which each and all shall have free access to the bounties of nature and shall participate, on equal terms, in the ever increasing industrial advancement of their time. It is not necessary to subscribe to all the author says in order to appreciate a reading of this book. It covers an important field in the discussion of sociological problems and is destined, in my judgment, to exert a wide influence over the minds of men.

GEO. A. SCHILLING.

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EDWIN D. WHEELOCK,
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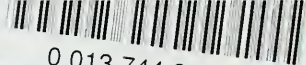
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